After resting, the men saunter around the village visiting their relatives and friends and discussing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any village of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

616 796 302

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waheresháne*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

565 [582] 281 565 622 [292] [567] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers.

616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [239]

[p. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. 683 756 The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death.

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. 674 182 The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle.

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. 602 [614] There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. [616] For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post Chaco Period] Terena

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

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177 622 648 616
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178 182 616
[P. 32-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

178 182 616 ● [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [839] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 829

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati axhé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 527 529

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *pirititi*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[522] [527] [536] [77] [535] [527] [302] [616] [187] [292] [533] [534]

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 565 [563] It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could

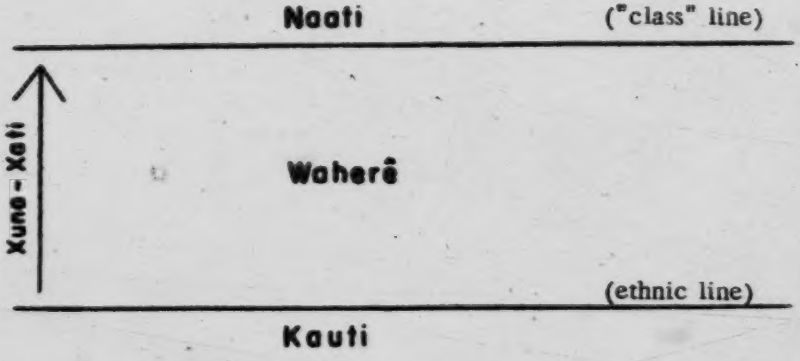

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Figure 1. Threefold asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 [565] But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumonó and Sukirikioné.

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 114 178 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus, not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The 616 [173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikinâu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation: [173] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden".--and he adds: [122] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good." [178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre- [296] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

147 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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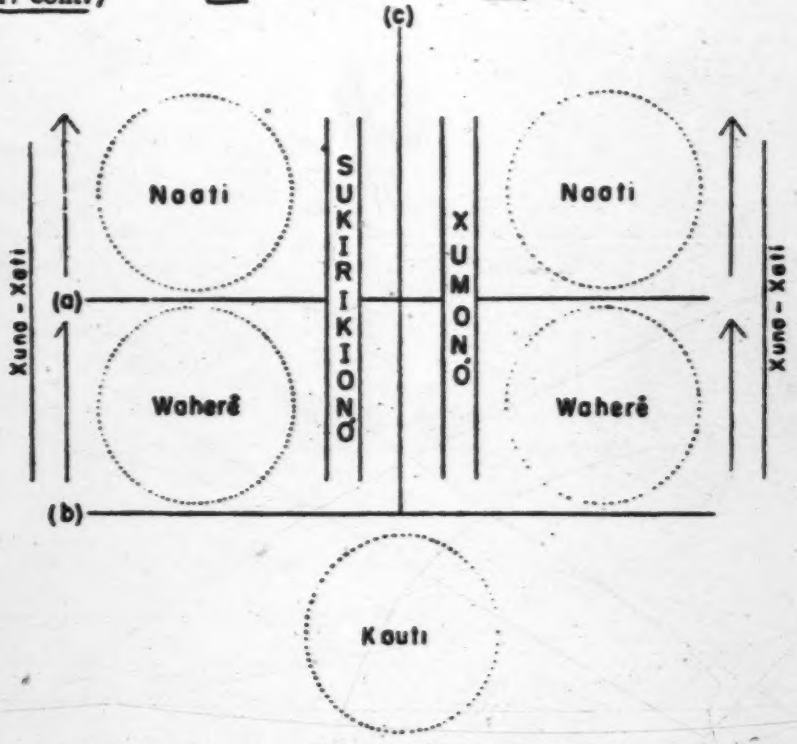

Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

611 Cohishotiquipahú...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
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[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization concerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation. We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-religious activities and secular games, in the following way: after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

[Traditional Culture]

/48 cont./

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The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahereê-Txané.

Then, the food was carried

616 796 526 to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

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75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

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[178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

[Traditional Culture]

/49 cont./

616 796 526 565 178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 [526] [178] [114] [534]

Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dancé--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version

773 [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that [616] reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

/54 cont./

773 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terêna food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe."(95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there [184] arose another. But the first was the master."(96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
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/116 cont./

178 796 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/ date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[614] [526] [756] 178 796 256 275 [255] [187] [177]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

● 616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

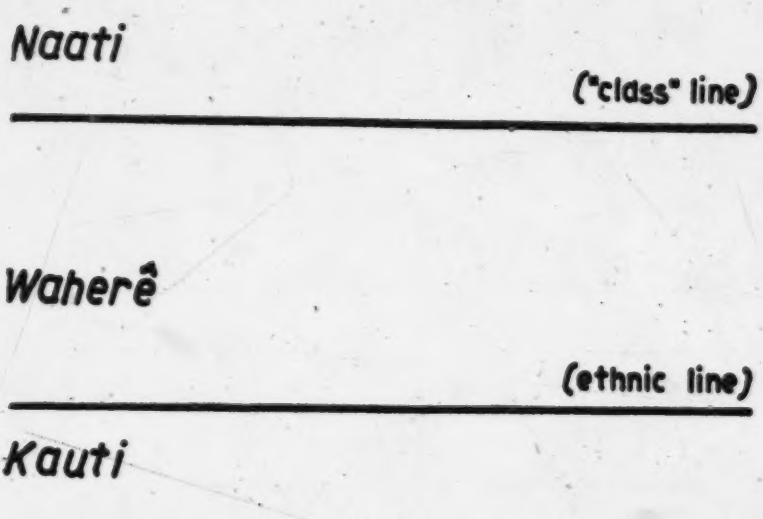

Figure 1

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616 773 stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut Yurikoyuvakái in two, both halves later growing into the twins" (1949 : 42). This version does not suggest the superiority of one twin over the other. In a version which we recorded of this same story, there is the suggestion, however, of the predominance of one moiety over the other—to the extent that the moieties may be considered to correspond to the twins. According to one old Terena: "Yurikoyuvakái had a brother Tapuyuké, somewhat shorter than he was. Ane day they started to cut the clouds so as to kill everything, because they did not want us to survive. But the more they cut the more the clouds grew. Then the two stopped cutting because they were tired. And each one went his own way." The versions recorded by Herbert Baldus tell us that "Anciently Orekajuvakái was just one and while he was still young his mother became angry with him because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the garden; she went to the garden, got a sickle and cut Orekajuvakái into two pieces. The piece from the waist up turned into people; and the other half became people too" (1950 : 218). Baldus indicates that there was another culture-hero myth among the Terena that referred to a malicious person who did not always act with the best of intentions, considerably different from the idea presented by Yurikoyuvakái. This second concerned the hero Pitanoé, who can be equivalent with Taipuyuké, of whom our informant from Cachoeirinha spoke. It appears that the myth that we recorded reconciles the two personalities of Orekoyuvakái and Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé), by making them originally a single person, who was only later divided into two, which gave birth to two distinct personalities which correspond to the two moieties Sukirikionó and Xumonó. The other versions collected by us and others, are really only variations of the theme we have presented. On the point of the superiority of one twin over the other, Altenfelder Silva supports the general hypothesis, saying that after Yurikojuvakái had been cut through the middle, "the top part grew to be another Yurikoyuvakái; the lower part became another person. But the first was the one who gave orders" (1949 : 349).

616 The impression gained from talking to the Terena is that the Sukirikionó are a little superior to the Xumonó, although this superiority is never reflected in ordinary social intercourse. It is probable that this difference of "ethos" has always been evident solely in the magico-religious ceremonies and in the secular games described above, without ever having influenced social norms. As we shall show, the role of the moieties in society was confined to the regulation of marriage, in conjunction with the strata.[9]

[9] The Portuguese term used here is *canoda*, which is considered to be equivalent to the technical usage of "stratum".

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b: 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

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It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

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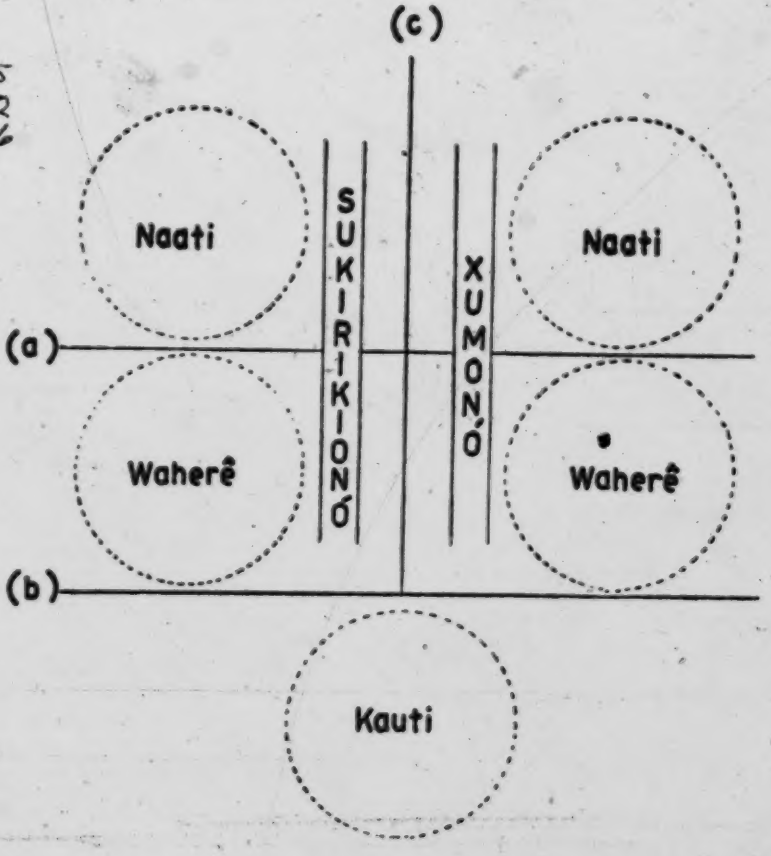

Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [198] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati ingroup. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the